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632
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W9
no.955

HSS

WAR RESISTANCE

4th Quarter
1963
Vol. II No. 4



HX
632
A1
W9
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CHATEAU DE CHARBONNIERES

OXFORD CONFERENCE

4th - 7th January 1963

The Oxford Conference was called by the European Federation against Nuclear Arms and was open to delegates from all non-aligned organisations working for peace. It was probably the first meeting of its kind, wider in scope than the Accra Conference and the Amsterdam Conference and calling together pacifist, direct action, anti-militarist and nuclear disarmament organisations for discussions which it was hoped would lead to the creation of a broad international peace front and possibly to active co-operation between participating organisations. It represented the culmination of an awareness throughout the peace movement that it must unite and must become international in order to face the challenge of the cold war in particular and of the nuclear age in general.

About 70 delegates from 18 countries took part. The Chairman of the W.R.I. and the two secretaries attended as W.R.I. delegates. Other W.R.I. members were present including Council Members Stuart Morris and Bayard Rustin. To quote the Minutes of the W.R.I. Executive Meeting which took place shortly after Oxford "the consensus of opinion about the Conference was that, in spite of the difficulties, it had been successful and had given a clear indication that there was a general desire in all sections of the peace movement to work together whenever possible."

At the conclusion of the discussions a Continuing Committee was set up to start work immediately for co-ordination and to call another conference in one year's time at which the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace would come into being. A Statement of Principles and Aims, to be included in the next edition of **War Resistance**, was drawn up as a guide to the Continuing Committee and as the basis for the new organisation. The decisions taken at the Conference were not reached easily. The differences between various wings of the movement are still great. The fact that these difficulties were overcome to the extent that lines of communication between all peace organisations now exist is indicative of the will in the peace movement to compromise where necessary in a spirit of mutual understanding and trust.

The major problem at the Conference did not arise out of the ideological difference between organisations. It was instead due to the introduction of another issue—whether or not the World Peace Council, which cannot be considered a non-aligned organisation, should be invited to this particular conference. When the invitations were first sent out it was widely recognised that invitations to the World Peace Council even for observers, would be inappropriate until there was the basis of understanding in the non-aligned movement itself. One of the organisers of the Conference had, on his own initiative issued invitations to the





World Peace Council—a fact which was only recognised when the delegates were already arriving. A way was then sought to enable delegates to meet observers from the World Peace Council without those observers being present throughout the Conference itself which could have caused some organisations to withdraw. A way could not be found with the result that it was left for the World Peace Council to invite delegates from Oxford to meet its representatives in London after the Conference. This meeting proved to be as amicable as could be expected in the circumstances and the way was left open for more contacts with the World Peace Council at a later date. All these facts could be made known to the movement because the development of an international peace movement should not merely be left in the hands of officials and those who actually take part in the international meetings. The W.R.I. Executive has given its general approval for the steps given to build a Confederation and is prepared to recommend affiliation of the W.R.I. if satisfactory progress is made before the next meeting of its Council.

In the Continuing Committee are :

- Kenneth Lee (Chairman)**—National Peace Council of Great Britain
- Frank Boaten**—Accra Assembly Continuing Committee
- Dr. Andreas Buro**—Ostermarsch der Atomwaffengeegner, Germany
- Prof. Aldo Capitini**—Consulta della Pace, Italy
- Abbé Paul Carrette**—Belgian F.o.R.
- Canon Collins**—European Federation against Nuclear Arms
- Anthony Greenwood**—British C.N.D.
- Fred Hassler**—American F.o.R.
- Tomer Jack**—Sane, U.S.A.
- Daniel Elwyn Jones**—Colleges & Universities C.N.D., Great Britain
- Heffen Larsen**—Kampagnen mod Atomvaben, Denmark
- Alan MacBride**—Accra Assembly Continuing Committee
- Mrs. Sybil Oldfield**—New Zealand C.N.D.
- Nimitri Roussopoulos**—Combined Universities Campaign, Canada
- Jose Smole**—Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of Peoples
- Anthony Smythe**—War Resisters' International
- Perthil Svahnström**—Kampanjen mot Atomvapen, Sweden.

IN ORBIT

—a news commentary



The Sino-Indian border dispute brought about the transformation of what had hitherto been economic and national rivalry between two neighbour states into open warfare. It could have ended in a world nuclear conflict. Military aid from the West has seriously prejudiced India's neutral position. "The Commonwealth—U.S.A. Defence Mission means that, regardless of any semantics about non-alignment, the Defence Chiefs in New Delhi have convinced their political masters of the need for swift and massive Western aid." (*The Guardian*, 24.1.63) Men on both sides have perished. All this has been of grave concern to pacifists, even though they were slow to react because of preoccupations with the Cuban crisis.

In a conversation with Vinoba Bhave, published in the weekly journal **Bhoodan**, A. J. Muste, an American pacifist, draws attention to another matter for concern—the attitude of many Gandhians to the Indian war effort. Their failure to reject the war method and their consequent difficulty in responding creatively to the situation in a manner consistent with non-violent beliefs, may make a profound impact on the pacifist movement and certainly suggests that a full re-examination of non-violence as an instrument for bringing about political change is urgently required.

After admitting that Western pacifists have not yet learnt how to defend themselves non-violently or control their Governments, Muste points out that they nevertheless feel it necessary to oppose the State, not merely by refusing to take part in war which is clearly not enough, but by acting in an entirely different direction.

"We are not clear," he says, "as to the relation of the Gandhian movement to the Indian Government . . . it seems that Gandhians see the building of a non-violent society and the defence effort as parts of a whole . . . supplementing and assisting each other."

Our Indian friends have been quick to point out that one of the most positive products of the national emergency has been unity—political unity in a sub-continent comparable in size and in the number of languages spoken with Europe. Unity, yes, but to what purpose Muste asks? All belligerent states have aimed at national unity and have used it as an instrument for waging war. Non-violence, if it is to mean anything, must have world-wide implications and never fall within the national boundaries so essential to power politics.

POLITICS AND TRUTH

Vinoba quotes Prime Minister Nehru as saying that there will be no conscription. But military training is already being introduced into the schools and universities. This is the political reality. Now, no doubt, the process will be stepped up. Total conscription, on the other hand, with India's vast population and limited resources, would be difficult and probably impracticable so that, in a limited sense, Nehru's assertion can be maintained. This is hardly more than an academic point, however. Neither is the recognition of the right of conscientious objection directly relevant. What is important is that the seeds of militarism are being sown in fertile soil amongst people who will in the future direct the affairs of the nation. As for the rest when men are needed they will be press-ganged into the forces rather than conscripted in the more sophisticated fashion of post-Napoleonic Europe.

Nehru's statement that, although the aggressor would have to be fought, there should be no hatred or enmity, might be in Vinoba's mind when he says that, although Nehru is not a pacifist, in his heart he believes in the non-violent way. It is clearly paradoxical to suggest that hatred can be avoided in an armed conflict, except in very exceptional cases, and, indeed, to the man about to be killed, it matters little whether his executor loves, hates or, as is most common, is indifferent to him. It would be reasonable to go further and say that no government can afford not to encourage hatred of the enemy at home and on the front, for hatred is a spur to action. There are no signs that the wave of hatred against the Chinese sweeping through India has been discouraged by the Government.

As for Nehru's belief in the non-violent way, such beliefs mean nothing if they are not accompanied by deeds consistent with the ideal. The whole basis of the anti-war movement has been that although everyone agrees they want peace, someone, some people, some government must take positive steps towards achieving it. This is not to say that, as statesmen go, Nehru is more culpable than the rest. There is evidence that he has high ideals. But statesmen, who are all subjected to immense reactionary pressures, must be regarded as being composed of two completely separate personalities : the public and the private. It is the public personality with which we have to deal.

WAR RESISTANCE OR WAR ASSISTANCE

Vinoba goes on to say that he does not see any possibility of a clash between "the so-called war effort and non-violence". "So-called?" Was it a war or was it all in the words of Mr. Macmillan "got up by the Press?" Were not men killed on both sides? As pacifists have understood non-violence how can a clash be avoided? If a Gandhian is asked to go to the front will he not refuse? If he does refuse will that not bring him into conflict with the State? He might get round the problem by supporting the war effort in a non-military capacity but non-military cannot be equated with non-violent.

When Vinoba says that "there is no alternative left—we must either take the non-violent path or face annihilation" we cannot but agree with him. What is dangerous is the assumption that statesmen or even

the public at large are aware of this fact. Violence may be irrational and suicidal in the present age but the threat and the use of violence is still an essential part in the foreign policies of the nation-states. This is a fact and has to be faced. It is for this reason that we question Vinoba's belief that "non-violent resistance has become a contradiction in terms these days", if it means co-operation with or even toleration of militarism. His substitute term "non-violent assistance" would be unacceptable if it meant in the Indian circumstances that non-violent defence should be used to assist and supplement military defence. Assistance and resistance should be two component parts of a non-violent attitude, one underlining the necessity of reconciliation and persuasion, the other the ability to bring about political change. Vinoba stresses the importance of an inward expression of non-violence. While recognising this we would reject his view that it is a waste of energy to resist outward symbols of violence. The purely spiritual approach which is so basic to many can sometimes be little more than a refuge from unpleasant and impossible situations.

INDIAN PACIFIST'S DILEMMA

What is the answer to the Indian pacifist's dilemma? We who look at the situation from outside can only make tentative suggestions and our own uncertainty is perhaps a measure of our inadequacy. The war has stopped—for the time being. War preparations go on. A cold war is sometimes, as Vinoba puts it, worse than a hot war. It is not necessary to wait until the bullets are flying again. "A nation containing millions of people cannot be forcibly disarmed." No, but it is possible that some of them can become disillusioned with violent methods. They can be made to think of the consequences of a full scale war for India's poverty-stricken millions. The case for **both sides** in the border dispute should be put before the public to demonstrate clearly that absolute right and wrong rests with neither side. The humanity of the Chinese people can be dissociated from the politics of their Government and the interests of the Indian people from government policies likewise. The Indian peace movement can form the bridge of friendship between Indians and Chinese in spite of what the governments choose to do on the border. By accepting Muste's suggestion of a New Delhi-Peking March of friendship the peace movement has shown itself ready to think and act in these positive terms. (The March will be carried out with the co-operation of the World Peace Brigade and an international team of volunteers.)

We have challenged some of Vinoba's answers to Muste because they are open to a negative interpretation which could be used to excuse a compromise of non-violence with militarism.

We hope that our difficulty in accepting Vinoba's formulation has been purely a semantic one and that the movement, having recovered from its initial disarray and indecision, will continue to seek means for the non-violent expression of opposition to the war and to militarism. Non-violent action in India today will require courage and fortitude. These qualities are in good supply in the Indian movement but it will need the full support and understanding of pacifists throughout the world.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

By Herbert Stubenrauch, Chairman of the V.K.

Among the areas of potential crisis in the world Germany holds a particularly vulnerable and dangerous position. Since 1945, when after their victory over fascism the Allies began to fight each other for world domination, the territory of the old German "Reich" has become a centre of unrest and tension. The following facts are mainly responsible for the precarious situation in Germany :

1 The German nation has been divided, and the two states which emerged, the Federal German Republic (FGR) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), were established as outposts of the Cold War between East and West.

2 A third part of the German Reich—the territory beyond the Oder-Neisse Line—was ceded to Poland and the U.S.S.R. Millions of people were evacuated and settled mainly in the FGR. They continue to demand the return of these territories to Germany and thus prevent the development of a reasonable policy towards Germany's Eastern neighbours.

3 In the communist part of Germany (GDR) a regime has established itself, which by its Stalinist methods and economic inefficiency has antagonised the majority of the people.

4 The capitalist part (FGR) has achieved great economic prosperity, coupled with clerical-fascist trends which threaten to "Portugalise" democracy.

5 The Cold War, power politics, military rearmament and a hysterical propaganda designed to defame the other side are rife in both German states.

The peculiar geographical situation of West Berlin in the centre of the GDR symbolises the general tension along the European seam between East and West.

Any serious attempt to work for peace in Germany must deal with all these six factors simultaneously. Credible solutions will have to be found for the problems of tension and conflict which are inherent in each one of them.

LEFT, RIGHT—MARCH

What forces are there in Germany at present to advocate peaceful, reasonable and at the same time practical solutions in a situation which is of decisive importance for the peace of the world?

(a) Every political party represented in the parliament of the FGR supports military rearmament, integration into Nato and a tough attitude towards the Eastern bloc. Only certain groups within the Social Democratic Party (SPD) advocate a change in the political course, but at the moment they constitute a hopeless minority.

(b) The Trade Unions have largely adopted the political line taken by the SPD. There are, however, particularly in the Metal Workers Union, strong oppositional tendencies against supporting the policy of the Federal Government, especially against the proposed emergency laws which, if they are passed by Parliament in the forthcoming months, would give the Federal Government more power than was ever legally in the hands of Hitler.

(c) More than two years ago, Professor Renate Riemeck founded the German Peace Union (DFU) which works for an end to rearmament, the formal recognition of the GDR, the realisation of the Rapacki Plan in Central Europe, and for political relaxation of tension. The party polled 600,000 votes in the last election (2.6 per cent), but it is not represented in Parliament. Its credibility is regrettably impaired by the fact that many former communists are incorporated in its executive body and by its somewhat ambiguous attitude to the policies of the GDR.

(d) The most important and significant non-parliamentary group of progressive forces in the FGR is to be seen in the organisation "Easter Marches against Nuclear Weapons—Campaign for Disarmament". The movement has been in existence for more than three years, and at Easter 1962 united over 50,000 people in a mighty demonstration for disarmament, against nuclear weapons, against power politics and for Central European disengagement. The Easter Marches were initiated by individuals (Hans-Konrad Tempel, Dr. Buro, Dr. Kloppenburg, Rober Jungk, Herbert Faller, Klaus Vack, Herbert Stubenrauch), but they are supported by all independent peace organisations. The SPD takes a very negative attitude to the Easter Marches; the Trade Unions are more neutral. So far the Easter March movement has succeeded in taking no sides in the Cold War and it has won much attention and respect by an unusually sensible and sober attitude in its political work and argument. On the whole it seems to represent the most hopeful wing of the peace movement in Germany, since, firstly, it unites all independent forces in the struggle for disarmament, negotiation and co-operation, and, secondly, it not only organises marches at Easter time, but is active throughout the year in its effort to create a new political consciousness in the Federal Republic through its well-aimed demonstrations, press campaigns and educational work.

(e) There are today about 23,000 conscientious objectors in the FGR. Most of them are members of one or other of the two war resistance movements affiliated to the W.R.I. The "Union of War Resisters" (VK) was founded in 1958 and its members are mostly young people trying to develop realistic alternatives to military defence and an undog-

natic pacifism. The "International of War Resisters" (IdK), which has been in existence in Germany since 1922, takes a somewhat less prejudiced attitude towards the East than the VK. Both organisations, however, co-operate very well where concrete issues are concerned and complement and fertilise each other although, so far, no organisational union has been effected. There are also the protestant organisations of the "Fellowship of Reconciliation" and the "German Peace Society" founded in 1892 and also affiliated to the W.R.I.), both of which though not very strong in numbers, exercise considerable influence in some circles. A newly formed group of independent socialists ("Socialist League—New Left") should be mentioned here, which comprises a number of consistent but non-Stalinist socialists of some standing and, chiefly in view of the failure of the SPD, aims at keeping alive and spreading the ideals of true socialism.

VALLFLOWERS

To peace movement, as we understand it, exists in the GDR. The "Peace Council", although it pays lip service to many of our demands, is simply a tool of the government, and the "peace" and "relaxation of tension" it claims to work for are clearly directed against the Federal Republic. As in the FGR, conscription has been introduced but without the right of conscientious objection. All "work for peace" in the GDR is based on the contention that a rifle and a bomb in the hands of communists are "peace weapons", while in the hands of capitalists they are "imperialist murder weapons", and it cannot, therefore, be considered compatible with the spirit of the W.R.I. Declaration. It is to be hoped that in times to come forces will arise in the communist part of Germany which are sincerely concerned about real relaxation of tension and the pacification of all Germany, and anxious to fight against the Cold War and the policy of strength, regardless of the ideological standpoint of their country.

PRESSURE ON THE GOVERNMENT

I am, however, of the opinion that a lasting relaxation in Central Europe must depend largely on the attitude of the Federal Government. The task of the German peace movement now is to influence the government and to prevail on public opinion in such a way that it insists on a policy of disarmament and negotiation. In general, the German peace organisations are still at a developing stage. There are some hopeful beginnings, but they must be strengthened and instilled with deliberate purpose and conviction. To that end, the German peace movement needs above all international solidarity. It will profit from any achievement gained by our friends in other Western or neutral countries.

During the last few months, the German opposition has had a success which has been appreciated the world over: the symbol of rearmament and totalitarian falsification of democracy in the FGR, the Minister of Defence, Franz-Josef Strauss, had to resign through the pressure of public opinion—a splendid victory and encouragement.

Translated from German by Hilda von Klenze

W.R.I. 11th TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

The Future Role of the W.R.I.

at

SOLBORG UNGDOMSSKOLE, STAVANGAR, NORWAY

from 26th July (Evening Meal) to 31st July (Breakfast), 196

Meeting of the present Council 26th July

and new Council 31st July

Stavangar is a seaside resort on the southern coast of Norway. Easily accessible by rail, sea and air, it stands at the gateway to the Norwegian Fjords.

Apart from constitutional matters, the day-to-day organisation of the W.R.I. and the relationship between Headquarters and Sections, the topics for detailed discussion will include: Individual refusal of Military Service in the Nuclear Age; the International Anti-War Movement; Relationship with the World Peace Council and its Sections; Pacifism in Africa, Latin America and Asia; Current Issues. Papers on these subjects will be circulated beforehand.

The Peace Councils of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary have been invited to send observers.

The emergence of an Anti-War movement linking pacifists with other fighters for peace, the impact of nuclear strategy on the practice of conscription, the special problems posed by the Bomb, and the growing militarism in the newly independent States all suggest that at the Conference there should be a thorough re-examination of the W.R.I. policies and methods of organisation and that its rôle in the future should be clearly defined. The attendance will therefore be large and Sections well-represented.

Delegates—Only members of the W.R.I. are entitled to attend, apart from Observers specially invited.

Languages—English, French and German. Others if necessary.

Cost—35s. (sterling) per day plus 25s. (sterling) Conference fee for each individual. Reduced rate for children.

Place—The Solborg High School is well equipped for the needs of such a Conference with its 75 double bedrooms, hot and cold running water, new furniture and new beds, and lecture halls. Excellent meals, vegetarian if required.

Camping—Camp site at nearby youth hostel.

Children—A kindergarten can be arranged if there is a demand.

Your Stay in Norway—Niels Mathiesen, Secretary of Folkereising og Krig (W.R.I. Norwegian Section) will attempt to give advice on specific points. Address: Kristian Augusts Gate 19, Oslo 13. General tourist information about Norway and Stavangar will be issued by the W.R.I.

Booking—There is a limit to the number of places available, therefore apply NOW for a Conference Application Form from the W.R.I. 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England. Booking will be confirmed on receipt of the form and 25s. Conference Fee, which is non-refundable.

ES

W.R.I. STUDY CONFERENCE



Non-Violence and Socio-Economic Change

at **CHATEAU DE CHARBONNIERES***

par Authon-du-Perche (Eure-et-Loir), France from

24th August (Evening meal) to 31st August (Breakfast), 1963
The Chateau is within easy reach of magnificent Chartres Cathedral, the Loir Valley, Chateaudun and Vendôme.
The efforts of the peace movement to bring about disarmament are well-established and it is now appropriate that serious thought should be given to the socio-economic content of the movement. "No" to war is not enough. Can we use non-violence as an instrument for solving conflict, for bringing about social and political changes and for building a new social order? The Conference will be devoted to these subjects which are sufficiently profound to require study beforehand on the part of the delegates. A list of reading material will be circulated, also papers, when the final details of the programme have been worked out.

Delegates—Accommodation is limited to 65 people. Non-members of the W.R.I. active in other sections of the peace movement welcome.

Languages—French, English and German.

Cost—From 15-18 NF (22s.—26s. 6d. sterling) per day plus 22 NF. (32s. 6d.) Conference fee for each individual. Children 2-7 years 9 NF. (13s. 3d.), 7-14 13 NF. (19s.) under 2 4 NF. (6s.). First class French cuisine.

Booking—There is a limit to the number of places available therefore apply NOW for a Conference Application Form from the W.R.I. Booking will be confirmed on receipt of the form and 22 NF (32s. 6d.) Conference fee, which is not returnable.

WAR and WANT

by *PETER MOULE*

The two major issues facing mankind today are world hunger, allied with the "population explosion" and disarmament. We have the means, and the resources, to solve both of these problems. Some aspects of the inter-relationship between them will be given below.

It was recently announced that world population had passed the 3,000 million mark ; it has taken the whole of human history to reach this figure but in the next 38 years it will be doubled. The world can support this number ; the food, housing and clothes can be provided but something must be done soon or population growth may well have disastrous effects on world peace. Sekou Touré has well said that "The major division in the world is not between East and West but between the under-developed and developed countries of the world".

BOMBS TO EAT

At present the gap between the developed countries and the under-developed countries is getting wider, not narrower, and this is perhaps the greatest measure of our concern. Two out of every three people live on or below subsistence level ; over 600 million children are exposed to poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance ; every three seconds a man, a woman or a child dies from starvation or disease caused by malnutrition ; half the adult population of the world cannot read or write ; 250 million children do not receive any schooling at all. These are the simple facts and the almost overwhelming figures which do not even begin to reveal the sum of human suffering involved. Can this problem be solved? The answer is a resounding YES! but only if those resources, financial and material, at present being spent on armaments, which keep the world in the grip of fear and mistrust, are utilised constructively. This in itself presupposes a great change in the attitudes of people in general and statesmen in particular. It goes without saying that it would be self-defeating to remove the weapons of war if the causes of war and conditions leading to violence were not also removed. At present over £43,000 million are spent annually on armaments throughout the world and the figure is rising. To bring the under-developed countries up to the European level would require an annual investment of only £5,000 million. We are a long way from this figure. The World Health Organisation has a working budget of £10 million and UNICEF operates on an annual budget of £11½ million. Yet, over £90 million are spent daily on armaments. The simple fact is that, for every million pounds being spent on armaments, less than one shilling and fourpence is being spent on starving children.



IASCO

The fiasco of Britain's nuclear deterrent and France's "Force de frappe" are good examples of the wanton and irresponsible wastage of resources and the complete moral poverty of governmental policies today. Soon we are likely to see India, desperately struggling to increase the living standards of her peoples, entering the arms race, with consequent set-backs in her agricultural and social development programmes. This sort of thing will not be changed until the peoples of the economically developed countries insist that their governments change their policies and rethink their values and priorities. And it is here, in creating the climate of opinion that will lead to these changes, that the working in the fields of social psychology, that pacifists have for too long been absent. Any attempt to renounce war without at the same time appreciating and working for the profound social, economic and psychological changes that must take place, will only ensure our continued failure in our efforts to build a non-violent society. Pacifism must cease to be emotionally based; our desire to rid the world of hunger and poverty must cease to rely on a vague and harmful concept of charity; war and want must be seen as allied problems, the solution of which is part of a whole concept of a non-violent society—a society where violence, hunger, war and want will be outmoded, a society governed by the Law of Love.

ECONOMIC CHAOS

It is sometimes suggested that disarmament would bring economic and social chaos. This has been well refuted in the recent United Nations report on the Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament: "There would be no doubt that the diversion to peaceful purposes of the resources now in military use would be accomplished to the benefit of all countries and lead to the improvement of world economic and social conditions . . . it seems abundantly clear that no country need fear lack of useful employment opportunity for the resources that would become available to it through disarmament." The amount spent on

armaments is at least two thirds of, and may even be equal to, the entire national income of all the under-developed countries. The increase in aid, grants and technical assistance would, therefore, be quite staggering. But what of the aid at present being given? Its value should not be under-estimated. The tragedy is that the prices of food and raw materials, which make up the bulk of the exports of the under-developed countries, have been falling for over 12 years, falling to the extent that the losses in terms of trade have more than outweighed all foreign aid given in this period. Prices of primary products are already lower than they were in the 1958 recession so the future is not at all promising. At the same time the prices of manufactured imports have been rising. Some new world system of prices is therefore urgently needed and the Food and Agriculture Organisation is, at present, doing intensive research into the problem although there can be little hope that its findings will be put into practice. The Common Market is but one example of the reactionary economic policies operative today.

DEVELOPMENT DECADE

The United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution at the end of 1961 designating the 1960s as "The Development Decade". The long term target is for the poorer countries of the world to double the standard of living in 25 to 30 years. Plans are now going forward for this. The Food and Agriculture Organisation's 5 year Freedom From Hunger Campaign is also developing. One purpose of the Campaign is to seek ways by which the largest practicable quantities of surplus food may be made available as a transitional measure against hunger. Food surpluses are a major problem and there is no simple answer but certainly much more could be done to make them available to the under-developed countries. The U.S.A. spends over \$1,000 million a year storing food surpluses—this is more than the total annual amount of aid and investment, both governmental and private, flowing from Britain. The American Food for Peace Programme could improve the situation but public opinion must be aroused before the programme can really develop.

These then are just some of the problems, a few examples of what needs to be done, how much is needed and where the money would come from. There are many problems associated with the development of the under-developed countries regarding aid and trade, but as Paul Hoffman of the U.N. Special Fund has said, "The most challenging and explosive idea of the Twentieth Century is that poverty can be wiped off the face of the Earth".

Pacifists should be at the fore, working to create a climate of opinion so that pressure could be brought to bear on governments to ensure that they do everything they can to support the U.N. Development Decade and U.N. Agencies to the full. Governments must gear their economies to the needs of the under-developed countries and work for a world economic order.

We, each of us, have an individual choice and a collective responsibility. So much that we take for granted we can help grant to others; but now is the time to act. Each time we take a mouthful of food, somewhere a human being, a man, a woman, or a child, has just died of STARVATION.

INDIA'S SUEZ?



Michael Scott

A moment of decision has arrived for India in the problem of her relations with the people of the Naga Hills. A section of the Nagas have been in a state of insurrection ever since the declaration of India's independence. They maintain that they never were a part of India, that they always were regarded as a buffer state and were administered separately from India, part of the territory being unadministered. The history of the dispute is a very complicated one, but it is clear that there have been profound misunderstandings on both sides and that no consultation has taken place, either between the two sections of the Nagas themselves or between the so-called "hostiles" and India. There are press reports that the Indian Government is planning a large scale offensive involving some half million Indian troops against the Naga Home Guard. Such a move would be a disastrous course for India and the action would be of quite different character from action against Goa. If this is true, all who wish India well should try to dissuade her, even at this eleventh hour, not to be precipitated into the mistake of employing her superior might against small groups on her border. Such an action would destroy the image and character of India which has been built up, would begin a long and arduous war of attrition without foreseeable end and might, before it was finished, incur active hostility not only of the peoples of the North East Frontier Agency but also of the other Himalayan kingdoms of Sikkim and Bhutan.

Phizo (President of the "rebel" Naga National Council) says that he has been warned by people who have accepted Indian sovereignty that expeditions are being planned on a massive scale. In London on January 25 he issued a statement which ended :

"Because we only wanted to be left alone, and did not wish to take advantage of India's difficult position in her dispute with China, I offered a cease-fire which the Indian Government has chosen to ignore. If instead India chooses to launch an all-out military campaign against the Nagas then she must bear full responsibility for the consequences."

Now there is surely the possibility that a rational solution could be found which would enable India to live in peace with these people. Britain has learned so much from India in finding political rather than military means of working out differences. Given the minimum of good faith on both sides, a settlement between the Nagas and the Indian Government could, and indeed must, be reached. The alternative is bloodshed, oppression and guerilla warfare for a long time to come.

REVIEWS

La Nonviolenza, Oggi, by Aldo Capitini, published by Edizioni di Comunita, Milan, price L.800 (In Italian)

Aldo Capitini's new publication, **Non-Violence Today**, is the outcome of over thirty years of deep involvement with both study and application of the principles of non-violence. Professor of Philosophy at the University of Cagliari, Capitini spends his vacations at the Centre for Non-Violence at Perugia, which he founded ten years ago and which has become the animating force in the Italian Peace Movement today. It was Perugia that launched the immensely successful march from Perugia to Assisi in 1961—Italy's first great Peace March—and the triumph has been followed by the establishment of the Italian Peace Council, a coalition of all the Italian peace organisations.

Non-Violence Today is a profound and moving work. Capitini examines very closely the emotional and philosophical implications of non-violence and argues that this is the means by which man can justifiably struggle with man to right wrongs and to produce better social order. He insists that non-violence is essentially dynamic and that it implies perpetual revolution since those who use it become truly creative and will seek to extend the boundaries of their conquest in the pursuit of human existence ever more peaceful, benevolent and sensitive.

This delectable prospect is sustained by chapters devoted to an examination of the various techniques of non-violence and to vigorous demonstrations of the sanity and realism of this new method which, after all, does really go to the root of our madness. Those who practise it must respect individuality, freedom, spontaneity and originality and by the same token they cannot fail to resist tyranny, bureaucracy, exploitation and paternalism.

It is to be hoped that translators will be found to bring to the attention of readers outside Italy this valuable contribution to the peace movement.

Angela Aspinwall

Independence and After, by Richard Harris, published by Oxford University Press for the London Institute of Race Relations, price 7 shillings and 6 pence

The subtitle of this booklet: "Revolution in Underdeveloped Countries makes clear its scope. Since the dissolution of Empire, what is happening and what is likely to happen in the former colonies which have now become independent States? We are told that the Communist threat is arising in many of them, but is this not merely the inevitable overthrow of feudal and autocratic regimes which were maintained in aid to European rule?"

Richard Harris discusses the revolutions taking place as (a) for Equality, equality of status in international relations and in the U.N., which naturally involves diplomatic relations with both sides in the Cold War and a tendency to remain neutral in relation to it in order not to jeopardise their newly-won independence and ; (b) in Society—which involves the establishment of more democratic, social and economic systems and therefore shifts of power which are bound to lead for a time to political instability.

This book is admirably impartial in its approach and provides a key to much that is happening in the developing countries.

Harold Bing

Breakthrough to Peace, edited and introduced by Thomas Merton, published by New Directions, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, U.S.A., price \$1.95

Twelve essays on the threat of nuclear extermination, civil defence and the morality of the deterrent. Excellent contributions by Thomas Merton, a trappist monk, and Louis Mumford. A savage attack on the psychology of some pacifists by Joost A. M. Meerloo. See page 18.

The Economic Effects of Disarmament, by the Economist Intelligence Unit, London, sponsored by the United World Trust, price 30 shillings

Over 1,100,000 people are directly employed on defence work in Great Britain. Perhaps half as many again are indirectly involved. In case of disarmament they will have to find—or be found—alternative work. This is to date one of the most detailed studies on the economic consequences of disarmament for one country.

The Black Paper, H-Bomb War, What it would be like, published as a Peace News Supplement

2 copies four shillings and sixpence. 100 copies twenty five shillings.

The idea of the Black Paper was originally conceived by the Committee of 100 to acquaint the public with matters about which the British Government had been silent. Although directed at a British audience, this pamphlet should be useful to pacifists in other countries as an instrument for influencing those who are intellectually disinclined to accept the ethics of pacifism but who, on the other hand, will readily see the dangers inherent in the threat of nuclear war.

At each triennial conference a new International Council is elected. This time the closing date for nomination from Sections or any five members is 22nd April. The first date for nominating the Chairman was the 20th January. Harold F. Bing, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. Chairman of the W.R.I. since 1950 was nominated by : Algemene Nederlandse Vredes Actie, Folkereisning Mot Krig, Internationale der Kriegsdienstgegner, Irish Pacifist Movement, the Israeli Section, the New Zealand Christian Pacifist Society. As no other nominations were received by the closing date Harold Bing will be Chairman of the W.R.I. for the period following the 11th Triennial Conference. Those of us on the Staff at Lansbury House assure you will join with us in thanking Harold for his long service to the W.R.I. and in congratulating him on this latest expression of the movement's continuing confidence in him.

THE PACIFIST LAMBS

"Among the naive advocates of world peace, I know some who radiate aggression, who are white-hot with rage and the lust to fight the warmongers! Many a fanatical pacifist is merely fighting his own unsolved hostile tendencies."

"I pointed out that Hitler was trying to misuse the European pacifist movements to weaken the more militant anti-Nazi movements in the countries surrounding Germany, knowing, cynically that the pacifism of the one might activate and fortify the aggressive potential of the other. Pacifism in our country might activate the potential enemy at the other side of the frontier, I said. Even in people who profess pacifism, deep aggressive and destructive drives have by no means disappeared, although they may have been channelled into more acceptable expressions of human action."

"When I had finished, the pacifist lambs had turned into most violent wolves. It was as if their pent-up hatred and aggression had been released and was now directed at me. I was almost thrown out. They themselves proved that they still nurtured various forms of violence."

Joost A. M. Meerloo

"£40,000,000,000 is world expenditure on arms.

It is 9 per cent of the world's output and 85 per cent is accounted for by 7 countries: U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Western Germany, Canada and China. Over 50 million are in the armed forces of the world.

In many of the smaller countries the budgets were mainly devoted to war expenditure. Israel's proportion was 75 per cent. Many countries, including Thailand, Indonesia and now Burma are in the grip of military cliques. The best brains are attracted to military careers and the education systems concentrate on training the military. Democracy is not encouraged and so often the military step in to impose strong rule. Foreign military aid has tended to encourage these developments."

Ritchie Calder



APOLOGY

The W.R.I. offers its sincere apologies to readers for the late appearance of this edition of **WAR RESISTANCE**.

SUBSCRIPTION FOR
WAR RESISTANCE
5/- per annum including postage
Individual copies
1/- each

WAR RESISTANCE

quarterly organ of
the War Resisters' International, Lansbury House, 88 Park
Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England. Tel. LABurnum 3977

Telegraphic Address; NOFRONTIER, ENFIELD

Editor: TONY SMYTHE

Designer: DENNIS JAMES

DECLARATION

**"War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am
determined not to support any kind of war and to
strive for the removal of all causes of war."**

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